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TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN BOOK ENTITLED

"CUBA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE"

by Konstantin M. Obyden

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JPRS: 3563

CSO: 4026-D

TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN BOOK ENTITLED  
"CUBA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE"

Following is a summary of pages 3-80, and translation of pages 80-90, of the book (Kuba v bor'be za svobodu i nezavisimost') (Cuba in the Struggle for freedom and independence) by Konstantin M. Obyden, Moscow, Gosudarstvennoye izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1959, 96 pages.<sup>7</sup>

Summary

Introduction (p. 3-11)

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 is significant because it was the first time in Latin America that the capitalist classes, allied with the United States, were driven from power. The U.S. had considered Latin America to be its own special province, and had attributed great political, strategic and economic significance to it. Through the years it had consistently supported reactionary regimes in the area.

The Latin American peoples are now intensifying their struggle against American imperialism. Their fight is being increasingly supported by the proletarian classes (which are growing in size and becoming better organized), by the Communist parties, by a movement among the peasants, by the deepening economic crisis in the U. S., and by events in the Old World.

Thus, from the mid-1950's on, this struggle has resulted in successful revolutions in Columbia, Venezuela and Cuba, and is leading to a single united Latin-American liberation drive, which in turn is part of the world-wide anti-colonial movement.

From a Spanish Colony to a U. S. Protectorate (p. 11-15)

The Spanish, who began to colonize Cuba in 1511, soon exterminated the native population through their exploitation, and imported many Negroes to provide a labor force. Negro rebellions took place about 1800, and throughout the 19th Century both whites and Negroes joined in revolutionary movements. Cuba had almost achieved independence when, in 1898, the U. S., under the pretext of the war with Spain, occupied the island, maintained a military rule for

four years, and ensured US control over Cuba through the Platt Amendment. The US staged military incursions on several occasions until 1909 and secured two naval bases there. In 1933 the Communists led a general strike which developed into a revolution and resulted in the overthrow of the Machado dictatorship. In conformity with the "good neighbor policy", which the US was obliged to adopt in view of the growing national consciousness in Latin America, the Platt Amendment was invalidated by Roosevelt in 1934.

Under the rule of the dollar (p. 15-22)

Despite the repeal of the Platt Amendment, American capital had little difficulty in maintaining its position in Cuba. By 1958, investments had grown to over a billion dollars. Most of the large sugar mills, the mines, and other important enterprises belonged to American corporations which earned profits exceeding the original investments many times. The sugar industry was excessively developed, making Cuba dependent on U. S. markets, and underdevelopment of other crops and industries forced Cuba to depend on the U. S. for imports. Land ownership was concentrated in the hands of a few landowners, while most peasants had no land and lived in abject poverty.

The working class--a true fighter for the people's interests (p.22-38)

The Cuban workers' movement began in the late 19th century and led to strikes and the formation of workers' political parties. In 1925, the Communist Party of Cuba was founded, but it was immediately declared illegal and had to operate underground. In 1939, the Cuban Federation of Workers was established, and in the same year a Communist front organization won a number of elections. During World War II, the Party, renamed the Popular Socialist Party, was legalized, but successive postwar governments increasingly repressed it.

The Revolution of 10 March 1952 (p. 29-32)

Fulgencio Batista seized control of Cuba in March 1952 through a military revolt, overthrowing Prio Socarras. The coup was carried out at the instigation of U. S. authorities, who operated through the American officer, Chester and the American military mission, and who also had naval vessels sail up and threaten the island. The Americans supported the revolt because they felt Prio was not "strong" enough to keep the island enslaved, and they feared that the forthcoming elections might lead to a victory for the Cuban People's Party, which was supported by the Communists and stood for more liberal policies.

The dictatorship of the henchman of imperialism (p. 32-36)

Batista immediately declared himself opposed to Communism. He gave various American companies further concessions, reduced taxes on them, and supported the U. S. -dictated "Truslow plan", which led to a cut-back in workers' wages. Using the income from sales of sugar, he bribed labor leaders to support him. He repealed the 1940 Constitution, though later he restored part of it. Using an abortive revolt in July 1953 as an excuse, he ordered a suppression of the Popular Socialist Party and the arrest of its leaders, suspended civil liberties, and organized a spy and police network. In all this, he was supported by the U. S.

Oppositionists or conciliators? (p. 36-39)

Batista was supported only by the U. S. imperialists, the U. S.-controlled army, and the U. S.-controlled police. The existing political parties took little action; some split into smaller groups and some ceased to exist. They were all opposed to the Communists and to participation by broad masses of workers. They followed 3 different policies: (1) maneuvering for position, (2) plotting revolts, and (3) following a "wait and see" policy. Various youth movements among the petty bourgeoisie maintained a sometimes heroic opposition to Batista, but they lacked a clear program and did not have a clear idea of the methods to be followed. One such petty bourgeois group was the "26 July Movement", headed by Fidel Castro.

In the forefront of the struggle for a united front, national liberation and an agrarian revolution (p. 39-54)

The illegal Popular Socialist Party continued its agitation, especially through an underground press. It called for a revolt against the Batista dictatorship, which was supported by the US. The Party took the position that while socialism would provide the only sure solution of Cuba's problems, for the time being it would strive only for democratic reforms. Thus, its program called for a Democratic National Liberation Front, an agrarian reform, nationalization of public services, a well-rounded development of industry, an improvement in living standards, democratic freedoms, democratization of the armed forces, racial equality, a strengthening of the labor unions, and a peaceful foreign policy involving trade with all countries, including the socialist ones.

However, the Party was willing to join forces with other parties or groups willing to accept only part of its program, and to establish a coalition government after a successful revolution, with a Democratic National Liberation Front to be established subsequently. With such a program and tactics, the Party, while it

made little headway with the opposition, political parties obtained the broad support of the masses.

The Party recommended that in the November 1954 elections which were rigged by Batista, the people vote for his nominal opponent, Grau San Martin, as the only way in which they could protest. On the day before the election, with Batista's defeat certain, the U. S. Embassy "advised" Grau to withdraw. He did so, but this step spoiled the attempt to legalize Batista's regime. Likewise, Communist supporters seized the initiative at a meeting called in November 1955 to work out a new election plan.

While there were numerous cases of terrorism against the Batista regime and sporadic attempts to effect a coup, the Party refused to support them, since they diverted attention from the real goals and since a revolution at the top would not have led to significant social changes. Instead, the Party sought to obtain mass participation in the revolutionary movement. Thus, it formed special committees at plants and in villages, and carried on the struggle primarily through strikes (which culminated in a general strike in August 1957) as well as demonstrations, mass funeral processions for victims of terrorism, and passive resistance.

#### Lessons of defeats (p. 54-64)

Fidel Castro's first revolt of 26 July 1953 was defeated, and he spent two years in prison. A landing effected by Castro from a ship based in Mexico also failed, but he fled to the Sierra Maestra, where he led a small group of partisans. The "26 July Movement" lacked coordination, and suffered from differences between right and left wing factions. The Popular Socialist Party undertook a double program of promoting strikes and of supporting Castro's partisans. A series of military adventures undertaken by the movement failed. However, when Castro undertook a program closer to that of the Communists---effecting land reforms, setting up schools, providing medical aid, etc.---he began to win broader support.

#### The rebels win a battle (p. 64-67)

In April 1959, Batista undertook a major campaign against Castro in the Sierra Maestra, but the partisans, avoiding a pitched battle, gradually wore down his forces through hit and run raids. They gathered strength, and by July had seized the initiative and managed to surround a number of Batista's units in the mountains.

#### The fall of the Batista dictatorship (p. 67-80)

Finding that he was losing control of the situation, Batista intensified the terror, killing many Communists, among others. The

U. S. and other countries supplied Batista with armaments, and U. S. forces for a while occupied some areas of Cuba. Batista proposed elections again, with his henchman Andres Rivero Aguero as a candidate for president. Both the Communists and Castro called for a boycott of the election, with the Communists demanding political freedom. Communists also joined in the armed struggle, organizing Communist partisan groups which later merged with Castro's forces.

The partisans spread their activities to all parts of the island. Under conditions of civil war, the November 3rd "elections" were held, in which, according to official but exaggerated figures, only 40% of the voters participated.

With a victory at Santa Clara and a march on Santiago de Cuba, it became evident that Batista had been defeated. The U.S. vainly attempted to arrange a cease fire. Batista on 1 January fled the country, two juntas hastily set up by the U. S. to save the situation were overthrown by a mass strike movement, and the Revolution was victorious.

The main task today is to defend the Revolution and to develop it further

The Cuban general strike, which paralyzed the maneuvers of the reactionaries and played a major role in assuring the complete victory of the rebel army, continued until 5 January. On 2 January a vast meeting, attended by hundreds of thousands of the capital's inhabitants, took place in the central park of the capital. That evening rebel units, under the command of Camilo Cienfuegos and Ernesto Guevara, entered the capital. On the same day, the Judge Manuel Urrutia was proclaimed Provisional President of the Republic at a mass meeting in Santiago de Cuba, and, after flying to Havana, he formed a provisional revolutionary government. The new government of Cuba was soon recognized by the majority of the countries of the world. On 11 January 1959, the Soviet government published an announcement that it recognized the Provisional Government of Cuba.

The decisive role in the overthrow of the pro-imperialist dictatorship was played by the armed struggle of the revolutionary army headed by Fidel Castro. Of major significance to the further fate of the Cuban Revolution was the fact that the Batista tyranny was overthrown, not by a government coup organized by a small group of plotters, but by a revolutionary struggle of the broadest social layers of the people--peasants, workers, employees, students, intelligentsia, the petty urban bourgeoisie and part of the middle national bourgeoisie.

Thus, the plan of the reactionary and conciliatory circles of the bourgeoisie--not to permit the masses of the people to participate in the solution of the political crisis in Cuba--met with utter failure. The active participation of broad classes of the workers

both in the armed struggle and in all the forms of civil resistance led to a degree of revolution which was unprecedented in Latin America.

The old government organization proved to have been completely smashed. The government, parliament, courts and local governments were all swept away, as well as the corrupt labor-union bureaucracy headed by Mujal. The old army ceased to exist and was replaced by a reorganized revolutionary army, most of whose officers came from among the people. The police organization was also completely replaced.

The General Secretary of the Popular Socialist Party, Comrade Blas Roca, speaking at a plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Party in January 1959, said, "The principal significance of the overthrow of the tyranny and the victory of the rebel forces was that it was not just an external, purely political change, but a true supplanting of the social forces which were in power. Thus, there is every reason to say that a revolution has taken place in Cuba, or, to be more precise, that a revolution is taking place in Cuba. . . .

"The power has left the hands of the lackeys of imperialism and has gone over into the hands of the supporters of independence; it has left the hands of the large estate owners, big traders and importers, the magnates of the sugar industry, the banks and the imperialist enterprises, and it has passed to the petty and middle national bourgeoisie.

"The Cuban Revolution, Comrade Blas Roca stated, "is a democratic, national liberation, and agrarian revolution." (Note: See *Noticias de hoy*, 13 April 1959)

The new Cuban government was basically petty bourgeois in its social composition. It included also representatives of the middle national bourgeoisie and landowners who did not have large estates. At first, representatives of the "right wing of the revolution" dominated the government. On 13 February, the position of Prime Minister of the revolutionary government was taken by Fidel Castro, leader of the rebel army. This meant that "the principal role in the government went over into the hands of the petty radical bourgeoisie." (Note: See same source.)

However, the revolutionary government of Cuba did not base its support only on those classes which were represented in it. The social basis of the new power, it was noted by the January plenary meeting of the National Committee of the Popular Socialist Party, were likewise the workers, peasants, and other classes of the working population, which were actively supporting all the progressive measures of the government, although the "control and rule is now being performed by the petty and national bourgeoisie." (Note: See *Theses of the PSP /Partido Socialista Popular-Popular Socialist Party/* on the situation in the country. Havana, January 1959, p. 2)

A major role in all the life of the country was also played

by the new revolutionary army, in which the most advanced leftist forces of the country were concentrated.

One of the first steps taken by the new government was the demand that the permanent military mission of the U. S. in Cuba leave the country. Fidel Castro stated that Cuba no longer needed the services of the American Military Mission, since "nothing that this mission had taught the Cuban people was of any value." (Note: See New York Herald-Tribune, 8 January 1959.)

There was also great significance in that fact that in Cuba, for the first time in Latin America, a step of true justice was taken: the men who had unquestioningly followed the orders of the fallen dictator, the executioners of the people, those who were responsible for the killing and torturing of patriots, were put before the revolutionary courts and many of them shot. The government confiscated the property of collaborators and dissolved the political parties which had actively cooperated with the Batista regime. All those who had been candidates for parliament or local office in the last elections under Batista were deprived of their political rights for 30 years.

The revolutionary government undertook to review the contracts which had been concluded by Batista with foreign companies and which were burdensome for Cuba and were opposed to the interests of its economic development. It is proposed to annul part of these contracts. A government administration was set up to examine the activities of the "Cuban Electric Company" and the "Cuban Telephone Company", which were branches of large U. S. monopolies. Preparatory work is being done on a plan to establish a government corporation to exploit oil deposits with the aim of returning this important national treasure to the country. It is also intended to reexamine the unfair trade treaty which has been foisted upon Cuba by the U. S.

The masses of the Cuban people reacted with satisfaction to the measures taken by the government to improve the situation of the workers. These included a reduction of rent, electricity and telephone by fifty per cent for low income families. Wages were raised for a significant proportion of the workers. A new, progressive tax system was introduced in the country, according to which the amount of the tax was based upon income. The system of obligatory deductions of labor-union dues from workers' wages was abolished.

The Castro Government introduced a number of progressive amendments to the 1940 Constitution: it repealed the article which required that, in the event of an agrarian reform, landlords first be paid cash equalling the value of the lands confiscated from them; the age requirement for holding government and elective positions was reduced from 35 to 30 years; other amendments were made. The government announced its condemnation of race discrimination of any kind and abolished all the repressive organs of the tyranny, such as the Bureau to Repress Communism, the secret police, and others. The revolutionary government is preparing a broad program of economic and social changes

in the country.

Agrarian reform, which is to bring an end to the large estates and turn the land over to the peasants, has a basic place in the government's program. On 17 May 1959 the revolutionary government passed an Agrarian Reform Law. The passage of this law represents a victory no less important than the overthrow of the Batista tyranny. Despite the fact that the agrarian reforms provided for in the law remain within the framework of the capitalist system, their realization will be a major step forward on the path of liberating Cuba from backwardness and poverty, from the chains of feudalism which are hindering the development of its economy, and from its semi-colonial dependence on American imperialism. The Popular Socialist Party announced its full support of the Agrarian Reform Law.

The law provided for the liquidation of all large estates in Cuba, as well as of foreign land ownership, the distribution of the expropriated land among the landless peasantry, and the abolition of all forms of rent. The maximum plot of land is set at 402.6 hectares. All properties larger than 402.6 hectares are subject to expropriation and distribution among the peasants. Every peasant family can obtain, free from the government, the land it needs, but under the condition that all the land owned by the family will not exceed 27 hectares in regions which are not irrigated and are far from communications. If a peasant should wish to acquire land above this maximum, he must buy it.

Foreigners and foreign companies are forbidden to own land in Cuba. All foreign companies are obliged to sell the land belonging to them to Cuban citizens. If they fail to do so their land will be confiscated.

Compensation for the expropriated land will be paid in the form of government securities and bonds, which are to be paid off in 20 years.

The Agrarian Reform Law also provides for the establishment of agricultural cooperatives, "throughout the country, wherever possible." The Agrarian Reform Institute, established especially to implement this law and headed by Fidel Castro, will provide assistance to the cooperatives in the form of credits, machinery, seed and fertilizer, as well as technical assistance. The Institute's local branches will obtain approval for all their actions from the revolutionary authorities. It is proposed to establish a network of government machine stations throughout the whole country, where peasants and cooperatives can rent agricultural machinery for a small fee, as well as obtain advice on any subject.

To supervise the implementation of the law, a revolutionary rural police, consisting primarily of peasants, was established.

At the end of July 1959, the Cuban government expropriated 23,224 caballerias of land which belonged to the U. S. sugar companies and the large estate owners. In a number of districts throughout the country

the distribution of land among the peasantry has already begun, as has the establishment of agricultural cooperatives.

With the passage of the Agrarian Reform Law, the battle between the progressive and reactionary forces in Cuba entered a decisive phase. The further development of the country will in large part depend on whether the Cuban revolutionaries have enough courage, energy and persistence to bring the agrarian reform into reality.

The first steps to implement agrarian reform have already led to a considerable intensification of the class struggle within the country. While at first the reactionaries, who had suffered a crushing defeat, did not make up their minds to take an open stand, now, faced with the threat of losing their economic positions, they undertook the active organization of counterrevolutionary acts. The security organs unmasked numerous armed plots against the government. The reactionary press began to conduct anti-revolutionary propaganda openly. In a number of districts, particularly in the Province of Pinar del Rio (a traditional bulwark of reaction) and in the Province of Camaguey, the large landowners and cattle-breeders threatened to start an armed uprising if the government should try to expropriate their property. In the middle of August 1959, a major plot against the Revolutionary Government was detected and crushed; a large number of reactionary elements throughout the entire country were participating in it. It turned out that imperialistic circles in the U. S. were involved, as well as Trujillo, Dictator of the Dominican Republic, who was organizing a landing of his mercenaries in Cuba.

In June, a number of rightist elements opposing the agrarian reform were removed from the government. In July, President Urrutia was forced to leave office after being accused by Castro of sabotage and of acts "close to treason" towards the revolution. The new President of Cuba was the former Minister of Revolutionary Justice in the Castro government, Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado.

Of great significance to the fate of the Cuban revolution is the fact that the basic revolutionary nucleus of the Provisional Government of Cuba headed by Fidel Castro is seeking to base itself on the broadest masses of the workers, and at the most critical moments fearlessly calls for assistance from the people. In Cuba, there have already been several meetings and demonstrations to support the revolution and the Fidel Castro Government in which from 500,000 to 1,000,000 persons participated.

After the passage of the Agrarian Reform Law, there was a considerable increase in the pressure and provocations against the Cuban government on the part of North American imperialism.

The U. S. monopolies do not wish to accept the existence of a free, independent and democratic Cuba close to the boundaries of the US. They consider that the successful development of the Cuban Revolution is too enticing an example for the other countries located south of the Rio Grande, and regard the revolution as the most serious threat

ever to arise to U. S. domination over the American Continents. Therefore, the Wall Street magnates are taking every step they can to smother the Cuban Revolution, and they are striving to create conditions which would allow them to administer punishment to Cuba in the same way that they once did in Guatemala. The American reactionary press talks about this openly. The 13 April 1959 issue of the journal, Newsweek, printed an article under the provocative heading, "Cuba: Another Guatemala?", in which it sought to justify an open interference of the U. S. in Cuban affairs. Furthermore, the American imperialists do not show the least bit of originality in their methods. As in Guatemala, they are counting primarily on a split within the democratic and revolutionary forces. Again, the major weapon with which they are trying to influence the national and petty bourgeoisie is the scare-crow of the notorious "Red Menace". The tattered banner of anti-Communism is again being brought into the arena.

At first the U. S. monopolist press and the imperialist agents in Cuba tried in every way to minimize the role of the Communists in the battle against the tyrannical regime. They spread the slander that the Cuban Communists supposedly joined the armed struggle only when the fate of the Batista regime had been decided. In this way, the imperialists tried to discredit the Communists in the eyes of the masses. However, this lie did not last long. Now they are shouting at all the crossroads that supposedly the Cuban Government and the "26 July Movement" are "under Communist control". On 3 May 1959, the American radio announced that "Cuba is rapidly becoming a Communist beachhead".

As one of the basic means in the struggle against the Cuban Revolution and the liberation movement of the Latin American Peoples, the U. S. imperialist circles sought to use the Organization of American States, (OAS) under their control, as they did at one time in the struggle against the democratic regime in Guatemala. Just as they did then at the Caracas Conference of the OAS in 1954, first at the Council Session of the OAS in Washington in July 1959, and then at a conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States in Chile in August, they tried to obtain sanctions, in the uproar of anti-Communist hysteria, for open intervention in Cuban affairs and for the establishment of OAS police forces to crush the struggle of the peoples and to support the reactionary dictatorial regimes in the Caribbean area.

But the Guatemalan experience was not wasted upon the peoples of the Latin American countries, and the U. S. plans at the Conferences failed for the most part. It is no longer easy to frighten the Latin Americans with anti-Communist fairy tales. For the broad masses of the Cuban population, anti-Communism is becoming more and more a synonym for pro-imperialism. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Cuban Government, stated, "Let them call us Communists if they wish for what we are thinking and doing, for what we consider just and

beneficial for our country and people." (Note: Quoted from the newspaper Pravda, 11 April 1959)

The Popular Socialist Party is calling upon the Cuban people to watch all the maneuvers of the reactionaries with vigilance. The Party declares the, "the main task today is to defend the Revolution and to develop it further." (See Note.) Speaking in January 1959 at the Plenary Meeting of the Party's National Committee, Comrade Blas Roca said, "The Revolution can force its enemies to retreat only if it will itself advance, if it carries out social and economic reforms which provide a firm and unbreakable foundation for its policies and which undermine the power of its foes. (Note: Theses of the PSP on the situation in the country, p. 4)

"If the Revolution does not advance and carry out the social and economic reforms required by the circumstances, if the country does not flourish and develop, if the working and living conditions of the people do not improve, then the powerful support of the masses, which the revolutionary power and the Provisional Government are now enjoying, and the enthusiasm of the rebel forces will slacken, and the enemies will have a chance to defeat the Revolution.

"Therefore we are not limiting ourselves to the present situation in defending the Revolution, but will also demand that it advance.

"To defend the Revolution against imperialism, it must be made more anti-imperialist.

"To defend the Revolution against the reactionaries, it must be made more democratic.

"To defend the Revolution against the privileged classes, it must be made more popular.

"To defend the Revolution against counterrevolution, it must be made more revolutionary." (Note: See Fundamentos, No. 150, Feb. 1959, p. 54)

A necessary condition for the further development of the Revolution, the main weapon which can secure the fulfillment of its historical tasks, is the preservation and strengthening of the unity of all the revolutionary, popular and patriotic forces. The Communists are continuing to work towards the formation of a Democratic National Liberation Front---a truly militant union of the working class, the peasantry, the petty urban bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This does not mean that there can be no differences among these forces. Differences are unavoidable, say the Communists, since the Revolution was participated in by the most diverse social forces, beginning with the working class and peasantry and ending with the national and petty bourgeoisie, and the class interest of these groups are different. However, the Cuban People have, to use the words of V. I. Lenin, "other tasks which are objectively common to the whole nation, namely democratic tasks, tasks of overthrowing foreign oppression." (See note) Therefore, all these groups and classes also have common interests, which at present are the chief

ones of all the truly democratic and patriotic forces, and all the contradictions and differences must be resolved for the benefit of these major interests. The contradictions and differences which are arising, the Party states, must be solved in a democratic fashion through constructive criticism and discussion, and they must not break up the unity of the revolutionary forces. (Note: See V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, V. 23, p. 47)

The Party is openly criticizing the incorrect actions of those who are playing into the hands of certain leaders of the "26 July Movement" to establish a monopoly over the trade-union movement and exposed the "anti-popular policies dominant in the higher administration of the Cuban Federation of Workers", (See first note) which was imposed upon the workers in contradiction to democratic principles. (See second note) (First note: Se Noticias de hoy, 23 Aug. 1959. Second note: The tenth Congress of the CFW (Nov. 18-22 1959), which elected a new administration, passed a resolution taking the CFW out of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, which is part of the dissident "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions". A number of other important decisions were made, directed towards strengthening unity and democracy in the Cuban workers' movement.)

The Communists are conducting a stubborn battle for a reorganization of the trade-union movement, for securing unity of the working class, for a full restoration of trade-union democracy, and for eliminating the influence of "economism", which has become quite deeply entrenched in the Cuban workers' movement. The Communists are fighting to have the working class play its inherent role of being in the forefront. They are unmasking the reactionaries, adventurists, careerists and various anti-popular elements which, while pretending to be friends of the Revolution, are strenuously trying to take over leading positions in the trade-unions, in various sections of the "26 July Movement" and the administrative apparatus, so that they can carry out their schismatic policies there.

The Popular Socialist Party has announced that it is strongly supporting the revolutionary power and the Provisional Government. In this, the Communists are not limiting themselves to declarations supporting the revolutionary measures of the government; they are most active organizers, mobilizing the masses to carry out the tasks of the Revolution. At the same time, the Communists have openly declared that, in their opinion, the government should change its composition. It should include representatives of all social forces, and primarily, workers and peasants.

"As a prospect in the further development of the Revolution," say the Communists, "we consider it necessary to create a government consisting of a broad revolutionary, patriotic, democratic and popular coalition, capable of fulfilling completely the historical tasks of the Revolution." (See Noticias de hoy, 10 Feb. 1959.)

(The following is a summary.)

Conclusion. (p. 90-94)

The victory over tyranny in Cuba was greeted warmly by democratic forces all over the world, and especially in Latin America, where the experience of the Cubans is being studied closely.

The key condition for victory was the fact that the armed struggle was combined with popular support expressed in strikes, demonstrations, and propaganda.

The defeat of the U. S.-trained and equipped army refutes the "geographic fatalism" which has held that a revolution of this type could not be successful because of the proximity of the U. S. The Cuban Revolution shows that imperialism can be defeated by a united people.

One of the basic reasons for success was the informal but effective unity of the various anti-Batista groupings.

The driving force behind the Revolution was the peasantry. This shows that agrarian reform is the basic task of revolutions in Latin America, and that the side winning the support of the peasants is the one that will triumph.

The working class also played an important role in the revolution, although it did not head it.

The success in the armed struggle was due to the group of patriotic youth headed by Fidel Castro. However, his victory was due to the support of the population as a whole, and an important role in establishing this support was the propaganda work of the Popular Socialist Party. Its support of Castro and its advocacy of a clear-cut social reform program helped provide general backing for Castro.

The contribution made by the Cuban Communists was due to their following of Marxism-Leninism closely and to their contacts with other Communist parties.

While progressives everywhere support the revolution, Cubans still have many obstacles to overcome in consolidating the Revolution and in liquidating the social and economic roots of reaction. However, there is every reason to believe that the Cuban people will succeed in overcoming them and that the country will become free, democratic, and truly independent.

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